3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back.

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was

The Comanches

753 551 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his 753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔyβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » ».

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

Nineteenth-century observers of the Comanches (Dodge, Neighbors, Babb, Burnett, and others) attributed a strong belief in a Supreme Deity to the Comanches, whom they generally addressed as the Great Spirit, but at times as "Our Sure Enough Father."[5] The Great Spirit was a vague, omniscient, all-powerful being, who was credited with creating and governing the earth, sun, moon, and stars. He was the chief god, the creator, the first of all addressed in prayer, and to him the first smoke was offered. The person who prayed looked upward and perhaps held his hands toward the sky. While some maintained that the Comanches believed that the Great Spirit dispensed good and evil, life and death, at his will, others insisted that they believed also in an Evil Spirit who was the antithesis of the Great Spirit. The supposition was that there was eternal conflict between the Great Spirit leading the forces of good and the Evil Spirit controlling the forces of evil. It was argued that the unhappy thought of a father who, though all powerful, permitted ills and sorrows to afflict his children, was forever irreconcilable with Indian philosophy. So strongly did the Comanches feel about the subject of the bad god, says Colonel Dodge, that it was practically tabu as a subject of conversation—a reticence shared by other Plains Indians, but which gave rise to the supposition that the Comanches did not believe in the negative element. The Evil Spirit was not equally powerful with the Great Spirit, however, for he shared with the Great Spirit in control of the earth only. Believing as he did in the immortality of the soul, the Comanche could not conceive of god rivalry in a perfect world. Hence for those who adhered to the philosophy of a dual power, much of the individual outward religious forms revolved around invoking the aid of the Great Spirit and appeasing the wrath and enmity of the Evil Spirit.

Through the medium of a host of inferior evil spirits, the Evil Spirit, it was claimed, brought about every mortification or disaster—droughts, disease, hunger, distress, and discomfort—and was the author of unhappiness, sorrow, and defeat. He made such animals as the panther and venomous serpents, reptiles, and insects for the injury of man.

Although there may be some question as to the source of all the

[5] Babb, *op. cit.*, 44.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great
776 Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedaring, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts.

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the burdens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, consisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls.

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost.

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth.

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains.

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring.

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient.

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775 a person . . . see how it is for it to scare me, but I didn't feel nothing. Nothing didn't scare me at all.

Sanapia feels that ghosts are probably the spirits of deceased persons who led evil lives and who are therefore doomed to wander the earth forever. Good people, according to Sanapia, probably go to the Christian heaven. She is not quite sure. Ghosts tend to remain near people and things which were familiar to them when they were alive. However, no particular correspondence between ghosts and certain deceased relatives exists. Ghosts are generally described as being "jealous hearted." They are jealous of the living.

Sometimes you be sleeping. They comes around and they just put something . . . dirt on your face. Or the whirlwind, they say that it is a ghost. It goes around and . . . supposing you be out there by yourself and here comes a whirlwind and just pass you like that. It don't often do that to anybody . . . just once in awhile it do that to somebody, and it twist their face. When I see them whirlwinds coming to me I say, "You go that way. Leave me alone," and it does it because I got that power. Or else sometimes people get scared when they laying in bed at night and one of those people of the family dies and the Indians say they get jealous of the one that are living in that house . . . either their sister or their son or their aunt or anything like that. They get jealous because they living and he died. And they the ones that come bother you like that. Sometimes they come in and you hear them just walking. They open the door and come in and come to your bed and they jerk your covers off or either just pull your hair like that or hold your hand. That's when they do that to you . . . twist your face.

[753]

[753]

Sanapia is not consistent in her statements concerning belief in the existence of ghosts. She feels certain of the existence of some kind of malevolent spirit which causes ill effects to those human to which it appears, but she is not sure that these ghosts are actually the spirits of men who were once alive. The Cheyenne, for example, felt that ghosts were derived from the dead but that they were not related to a specific dead individual (Hoebel 1960:86). Perhaps Sanapia's relations in Cheyenne-Arapaho culture have caused her to be ambivalent on point. At one time she will state that ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who while alive led evil lives, and at other times she will make statements such as the following:

[171]

Some of them would hear noises in the dark and think they see things . . . ghosts. That's what they think. I just think its their imagination . . . that's what. Because when anybody dead, they're gone. They ain't going to come back. How can they?

Ghost Sickness

775 753 The particular horror of the ghost is his ability to deform his victims, usually by causing contortions of the facial muscles and in some instances paralysis of hands and arms. This condition is called "ghost sickness," or "twisted face," by

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Sanapia. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 169

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

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775 753 [756] Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from [754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 753 754 756 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chapter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 [178] In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 154 591 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

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5

Witchcraft and the Conceptualization of Illness

Black Magic

WITCHCRAFT and the conceptualization of illness, two seemingly separate areas, are best discussed together because Sanapia's notions of witchcraft present the most obvious examples of her manner of conceptualizing human illness and its causes. The variety of Comanche witchcraft described here is carried out by one of the major methods of the classic witch, a ritual of malevolent imitative magic; however, its perpetrator is not a witch but a shaman who has only temporarily utilized his supernatural powers and knowledge or ritual for purposes of evil. I will use the noun and the verb forms of the word "witch" as my Comanche informants do, keeping this distinction in mind. E. Adamson Hoebel (1940:85) writes: "The Comanche made no basic distinction between a Medicine man and a sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil."

Witchcraft is an extremely delicate area to investigate among contemporary Comanches. In the sense that the term is presently used among Comanches, it is synonymous with the most diabolical kind of murder. A Medicine woman who was notorious for her acts of malevolent magic has died only within the last several years, and it appears that many Comanches now look upon Sanapia, the only Medicine woman still living, not only with a calculated respect but also with suspicion and a certain amount of fear. The label "witch" was never directly applied by my informants to Sanapia, though some Comanches noted her quick temper and stated that they knew Comanches who were afraid to associate with her lest they arouse her temper and run the risk of having it directed at them.

Sanapia quite naturally denies that she would witch another person, though she is evasive concerning the possibility of her potential to witch if she so desired. When this specific subject presented itself in the course of our discussion, her response could be predicted. In every instance of a question which alluded to the possibility of her utilization of her powers to harm others she drew on the

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witchcraft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In contrast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness, Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow contiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *ɔapinatɨu*, *ekapokowa:pi*, *kusiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwɔna* and applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where the feather is located. *Ɔapinatɨu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization 753
of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body.

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, 753
she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be 751
prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free 237
to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible.

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the 753
affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, 828
when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the 775
whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the 825
behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states 827
that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly 201
over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body
755 claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and
753 calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a
754 real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that
755 most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is sug-
755 gested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to
756 identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic

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scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retaining a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic teners of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form, is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gunshot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.